

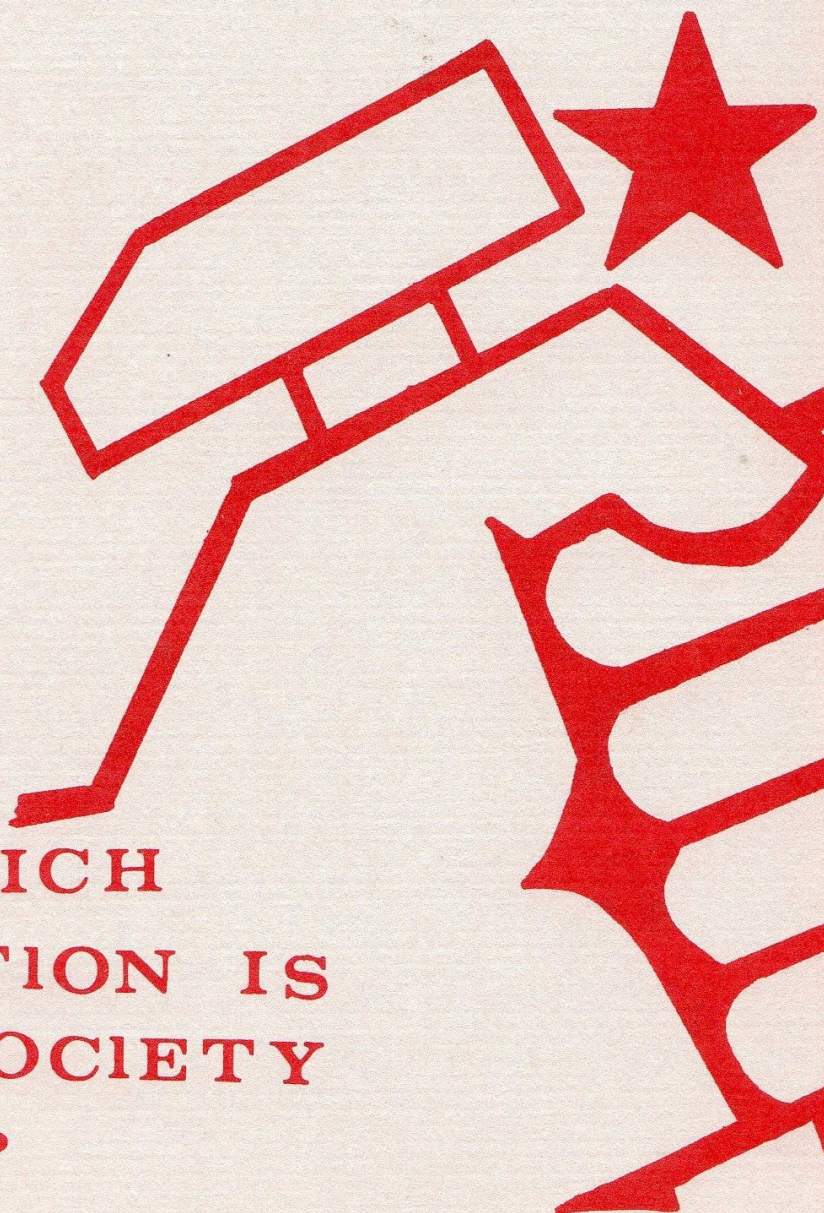
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ORGANIZATION OF PEYKAR(STRUGGLE) IN THE
PATH OF EMANCIPATION OF WORKING CLASS

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PEYKAR

IN WHICH
DIRECTION IS
OUR SOCIETY
GOING ?



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Translation by Union of Iranian Students in the U.S.
(U.I.S.U.S.) from the PEYKAR No. 54 and 55, the
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1. IN WHICH DIRECTION IS OUR SOCIETY GOING?

Our country is on the verge of critical times. The main characteristic of this period is the acceleration of political crisis, the result and merging of internal and external social and political contradictions which produce complications in society. Growing class and national struggles between inferior and superior classes, growing contradiction and conflicts within the different factions of the ruling power, extensive conspiracy of U.S. Imperialism and its European allies against the Iranian People and intensification of its aggressive actions, intensification of political crisis between the US government and Iran, the growth of the political crisis between Iran and Iraq, and . . . are the links of the chain of the contradictions which are directing the society toward the course of a political and social crisis

We have spoken about the nature and result of each of these contradictions in the past. Now we want to know in what direction are these contradictions leading and what is the role of the ruling power in this trend?

DIRECTION OF THE SOCIETY

1. An important matter that all the forces, revolutionary and counter-revolutionary, are agreed upon is the "crisis in the condition" of the country. Even the ruling Power and especially Bani-Sadr who were denying this main point of the present condition of the country, and promised the people a "bright future," now have realized the "critical condition." The fundamental point of Bani-Sadr's speeches consist of this and the obvious expression of "crisis in the situation of the country."

Actually the "crisis in the condition" which has worried the ruling power is nothing more than the process of acceleration of revolution and intensification of national and class struggle in all the political and social arenas, struggle which in each step of its acceleration consists of a more aggressive tendency toward the dependent capitalist system and the Iranian political regime. The revolution advances continuously and throws aside all the obstacles which stands in its way. The ruling Power cannot be undisturbed due to this trend. Between the political future of the present regime and the disturbed social economic system which has become like a dirty abscess on our restless society, the dependent capitalist system, is the main key to this fear and anxiety growing from the present trend of ongoing events in the country.

In the last few years, such movement has continued with ups and downs and especially the last year, "the secure year" of the regime, has intensified. The centers of this struggle are expanding by moments and also are spreading their roots deeply.

During the year and a half of its existence, the regime of the Islamic Republic has experienced a series of convulsive shocks. Thus to be able to silence the extensive resistance at the beginning of their movement, they engaged in military suppression and mass slaughter; they made some reforms and promised some other; waved the flag of so-called anti-Imperialist struggle and pretended to be revolutionary; they raised the political crisis of Iran from one side, US and Iraq from the other; and applied policy of "carrot and stick." But they could

not put out the fire which was rasing from the ashes. Last year, indeed was the year of failures and incapacity of the ruling power to suppress the movement and stop the revolution.

In the New Year, the ruling power has chosen a new policy in order to counter the critical condition of the country, along with the application of more of the military suppression and terroristic policy which was mentioned in the political manifesto of the ruling power (the New Year messages sent by the leaders of Islamic Republic). This policy is not new in a sense that the ruling power and its gangs did not utilize it before, but because this policy has been applied systematically in a wide range and of expanded activities. This policy is nothing but the acceleration of civil war and brother-killing, in order to change the direction of the national and class struggle, putting some factions of the people in front of the others or putting unconscious masses in front of the revolutionary forces, particularly revolutionary communists, and above all creating a provocative and fascistic atmosphere against these forces:

*"People of each city should rush to the factories as soon as you find out about a strike and find out what they say. Counter revolution has to be identified and be told to the people. Noble Iranians cannot support some athiests any longer."
(New Year message by Ayatollah Khomeini)*

Also Bani-Sadr said:

"If you heard me on radio or TV saying there is a riot in a certain city, no matter what are you doing, stop and go."

Applying such a new policy along with military and terrorist suppression which has accelerated in recent weeks is a reflection of the dead-end the regime of the Islamic Republic finds itself in order to enforce its dominance on the country. In the events in the universities, the regime benefited from this approach and policy, of scattering centers of students' resistance.

In the days after these events, the extensive propaganda started from the ruling power to agitate the masses against the revolutionary forces, communist forces and all the conscious masses who rose to fight against the reaction in different centers, which still is going on. This propaganda maintains the subjective bases of suppression in all the areas of these forces by public mobilization along with utilization of the means of suppression. The regime promises such a policy in Kurdistan as well. Now that the suppression and open military slaughter of the people of Kurdistan has faced a dead-end provided by the great heroic resistance of the Kurdish People and their heroic Pishmargan (those who volunteer to die before the others), the regime finds the remedy to be the utilization of this approach and deceitfully to play with the masses' utopia.

"We asked people to vote, meaning, we asked all the 36 million population of Iran if they wish Kurdistan to be separated, and a non or anti-Islamic Republic government be formed there? If their answer was yes, we will say Kurdistan is to be separated and if it was no, we will say you go there yourself and take over." (remarks by Sahabi, Keyhan, May 1980)

Demonstrations and the continuous gatherings which are sponsored on behalf of the regime for the funerals

of the "Kurdish Martyrs" with participation of a tremendous number of people and the provocative and directed slogans which are expressed against the Kurdish peoples' resistance movement and their leaders and political representatives, are the obvious examples of this counter-revolutionary policy and intensification of the false contradictions among masses and provocation of Persian chauvinism before the Kurdish People.

Systematic enforcement of this policy by the ruling Power indeed proves the expansion of the class struggle and the uselessness of the enforcement of old methods of suppression. The regime has realized that the current class struggle is uncontrollable, therefore it tries to alter this struggle, to protect itself from the attacks of the revolutionary struggle and wide range of protest by the people against the ruling power and tries to confront them with each other.

Pitting the unconscious masses against conscious factions of people and revolutionary forces, with agitation and conspiracies, by the regime will give a better chance for ruling power to rise under the protection of this wave of unconscious masses and to revive its strength, sharpen its means of suppression and get itself prepared for a new move to stabilize its basis of dominance. The policy of the regime, based on the objective and subjective conditions of the society, will inevitably move the society in such a direction, will push toward a war of brother-killing, intensity of the false contradictions and increase the minor contradictions--or in a word start a civil war. Overall conditions and active elements in the society have imposed such a

process as an inevitable trend in the society. The national and class struggles in our society, given their acceleration, have to go through a painful civil war, a war in which at the beginning and may be for a while (until the reaction is completely isolated), sections of masses will be confronted by others and will involve the country in brother-killing. We gave warning about this process and the direction of society and emphasized its inevitability of this analysis. Now, the signs of this inevitable process and direction, upon which the movement of society is based can be observed in different parts of the country, in the political scene and in the class struggle. Without any doubt, such a painful path is not our wish. We are desirous of class struggle and acceleration thereof, not for a civil war and brother-killing. But our will and desire to change the direction of society is based upon the subjective and objective elements, and cannot have a determinant effect. We can shorten this process, decrease the expansion of civil war, speed up the growth of class struggle out of this civil war, but we cannot change the direction of society. Anyone who does not understand this point, cannot understand the characteristics of the present situation.

FOUNDATIONS FOR ACCELERATION OF CIVIL WAR

1. The current crisis which Iran is going through is the continuation of the crisis which has continuously been going on in the last two years and in the same era, buried the rotten regime of monarchy. Changes in political power and centralization of power in the hand

of the liberal bourgeoisie and wealthy traditional petty bourgeoisie, this crisis which was deeply embedded in the rotten dependent capitalist system, by no means is finished and has continued with its ups and downs. This has not left the society for a moment.

A conclusion of this crisis has only one solution which the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie are not able to offer. A definite solution for this crisis relies on the change in the foundation of the predominant system of society and establishment of a new revolutionary system. This will not be possible except if the proletariat assume the leadership of the revolution. The Bourgeoisie who currently is the dominant political power of the society, is preventing the revolutionary changes by maintaining and rebuilding the capitalist system and all its foundation although it is willing to establish the discipline of a bourgeois system, in any possible way. Wealthy, traditional petty bourgeois whose future is tied to the future of the bourgeois and the present system, not only are not able to establish the society (despite its desire) because of its dogmatism, its backward characteristics and historically because of its reactionary system of thought on the one hand and its contradiction with this system (superstructurally and minor structurally), is destroying a system which it partially shares and is responsible for, despite the fact that it is frightened of such a destruction. Establishment of a new system given the constraints of the present dominant forces of political power and stabilization is

impossible; the bourgeoisie and wealthy traditional petty bourgeoisie will not be able to overcome the present political-economic crisis and society will advance toward interruption and intensification of the contradiction, breaking up the existing system, promoting increasing instability of the government and intensification of revolutionary convulsion.

2. Economic crisis and the worsening condition of the masses which has brought poverty, famine and tons of other economic symptoms, gives an explosive characteristic to the class struggle of the toiling masses against the dominant system. It will not be surprising if events such as that of Anzaly port happens in the forms of riots caused by economic pressures. Bani-Sadr who realizes this, well expresses it when he warns the Bazarian merchants that "*if flood comes, it will take all of us with it*" (*New Year gathering of merchants*).

This economic disaster, while its main weight is on the shoulders of workers and its toiling masses of society, increases the weight of class struggle intensively and distinguishes it. Segments of classes affected by this crisis will have a larger role and increase the class characters of the general struggle of the People.

This aspect of the current status will cause an extensive faction of workers and toiling masses to be thrown into the class struggle and at the same time that a tremendous number of petty bourgeoisie has not yet been turned away from the regime and are still in a "utopia." This condition will lead to an inevitable confrontation in a definite, but not lasting period, between these two factions of the masses.

3. In our society, another characteristic of the national and class struggle is the incompatibility of different parts of mass movement. We can see clearly that while, for instance, in Kurdistan, the level of movement has intensified to the point that the Kurdish people are in armed struggle with the reaction. In many cities like Isfahan, Mashad and Ghom, tremendous numbers of the masses are still unconsciously defending the present government and following it. This notable difference in the level of political struggle of the masses of our country, objectively maintained the ground for confrontation among the masses and makes it possible for the reaction to take advantage of this situation. The point is not that factions of people are at a higher level of struggle and extensive factions of it are indifferent and are at a lower level of the struggle with reaction. The point is that along with those factions of the masses whose struggle is an intensified, and not only intensified but in a revolutionary situation, other factions are actively defending the government and know themselves as its defenders and supporters because they think this government can still fulfill their needs. The regime, by exactly pointing out the main problem, can enforce its conspiratorial policy of pitting the masses against one another and once in a while having tremendous numbers of the masses following it with a new approach but which is indeed conspiratorial and suppressive.

4. The lack of compatibility in the dominant political power and existence of numerous blocks in and out of the

government who are after their share of the pie and compete with one another, for instance feudalistic parts of the clergy on one side and different classical current on the other--cause a centralized political power in society and stabilization of the dominant political system. The thirst for a power, particularly among different factions of the clergy, intensifies the involvement and political crisis among ruling power and around different governmental circles and adds to its inconsistency.

Reflection of these contradictions and conflict within lower level of the government will directly interrupt the different foundations of the ruling power. In addition, each of the political factions in power have some masses following them who can be used against the other factions as well as against the revolutionary forces and the revolutionary movement of conscious masses at the proper time and expand the conflicts even more.

5. On the other side, although the growth of the revolutionary forces is great and this rate of growth is increasing daily, still one revolutionary and strong faction which is able to organize the masses, those who are unsatisfied and turned away from the regime, and also give political direction to them, does not exist.

In other words, the revolutionary and communist movement, because of internal divisions and dispersion is involved in a crisis and its political revolutionary forces at the present time are not able to do this by themselves. This reality will cause the increase of spontaneous

movements from the unconscious masses which are not directed by any conscious trend. This spontaneous movement can naturally be deceived and be taken advantage of in different ways. The spontaneous movements of unorganized masses can be directed toward the minor or false contradictions upon which reaction expands, or end in premature conflicts in the wide range of struggle.

An outcome of the above condition, will drive the society toward an achievable internal crisis and social disorder, with the tendency toward intensification of civil war which (direct the class struggle through a painful and complicated path). The war in which sectors of masses of people will inevitably encounter one another. The true class struggle will grow from this civil war and will expand from it. The question of the length of this period and of what processes it will go through, as well as the question of its weakness and intensification, is not predictable now. But one thing is predictable is the characteristics of the present crisis due to the special social conditions of Iranian society which mandate civil war and brother-killing, the same characteristics of the crisis and social and political situation necessitates that this civil war at a certain time converts to a national and class struggle to fully extend against all the reactionary forces. This civil war cannot be able to last for a long time due to the present crisis; also the polarization of the society and isolation of reaction will accelerate as such which will contradict itself; the only differences will be limited to the revolution and counter-revolution.

In the following pages, we will speak of the role and the duties of the revolutionary forces, in particular the revolutionary communists, on the basis of the above analysis.

FROM PEYKAR #55

2. IN WHICH DIRECTION IS OUR SOCIETY GOING?

So far, we have discussed the inevitability of civil war with factors involved which will accelerate this "war" and we have also shown that the tactics which the ruling class are using to expand the civil war is only to dilute people's true class and national struggle. In the following pages we try to elaborate on the tasks of communists to deal with such a situation.

These days, the ruling class has been saying that "In order to resist Imperialism and their aggression, in order to resist "Iraqi's aggression" and "its internal mercenaries" we have to prevent "division" and "convulsion" and protect our "internal unity." In addition they say that any kind of "internal clash" and any action "against the strength of Islamic Republic" will be in the interest of US Imperialism and . . . then they threaten that "anyone" and "any force" which acts as such would be considered as "counter-revolutionary" who has to be oppressed. They ask people to strengthen their unity and stand against it. Bani-Sadr is the most consistent advocate of "unity" and "oppression." If we look into these concepts deeply and also look at their practice up until now we can unhesitatingly

say that behind all these nice words there is such a policy which we have discussed before.

Protection of "internal Unity" and calling People to avoid "dispersion" and "convulsion" are to accomplish nothing but to create unity and discipline within the ruling class and secondly and most importantly to prevent the formation and expansion of the class struggle, the serious struggle of toiling masses against class and national oppression. We refer to the dependent capitalist system and its political representatives. One of the most important factors which gives energy to the ruling class is raising the false flag of struggle against US Imperialism and Iraqi's fascist aggression, the false flag which not only creates confusion within the unconscious masses but also within the revolutionary and part of the communist movement forces. As previously mentioned Bani-Sadr is the one who has been leading this policy.

Pushing these two policies means raising the minor and false contradictions in the society, creating a deviation and clash within parts of the mass movement and expanding crisis and civil war with this concept on one hand, and calling people to stop their revolutionary class struggle, and cover the true contradictions in society and trying to create security for capital. In other words, preventing the acceleration of class struggle on the one hand also serves to attract some inconsistent democrats who have some liberal tendencies. Incidentally, they have tremendous mass support. It also serves to isolate the revolutionary communists

who are consistent in order to destroy them, when the situation is right.

So, they have taken the most advanced policy to keep the ruling class stabilized. On the one hand they are accelerating the civil war while they are putting the blame on the revolutionaries and communist forces. And on the other hand, with the knowledge of the hatred of people of civil war and developing the minor and false contradictions, frightening the democratic but inconsistent forces, they are trying to stop or submerge the class struggle, and get the democrats out of the struggle in order to stabilize their shaky position.

Consolidation of the democrats such as Mojahdeen will help the reaction to lay out their reactionary tactics and strengthen such a policy.

* * *

The direction of our society requires more knowledge to develop the policy and tactics of the revolutionary forces. In particular, communists and their subjective factors are most important now. The main factor in obtaining the correct tactics and policy is having a correct understanding of the current situation and being conscious of the direction of the growing contradictions in society.

Without a correct evaluation and understanding, no word can be said on correct tactics and policy, any deviation from a correct policy and tactics to the right or left, despite our will, will change the direction of the contradictions from the one we would want to the direction which the reaction wants.

The accuracy of these tactics and policy is being able to draw a line between two concepts of convulsion which was mentioned before, civil war and brother-killing in one hand and class struggle on the other. They are mixed together and usually one mixed together. They must be separated.

Combining these two things is to take a dialectic approach to the contradictions of society, which usually is deprived to either the "left" or "right" by some revolutionary forces. Also at the present stage, the inevitable relationship between these two will lead to the final joining of the two. Also the growth of class struggle from a civil war, because of its social and political characteristics, has to be fully understood.

Despite the unpleasant situation these facts will cause class and national struggle of the toiling masses; it is inevitable.

An understanding of these two points is important to help us in applying correct tactics and policy.

The class struggle in different societies or in one society in different situations always goes the same route. The collection of objective and subjective factors in a society with certain conditions and results of contradictions, social and political factors will dictate a certain character for the political situation, class struggle and direction of a society. In order to apply correct policy and tactics these characteristics and factors have to be fully recognized at this stage. These characteristics in our society have determined and have been leading the direction of society

toward a civil war out of which will come the class struggle as it gets stronger. Misunderstanding this point is the primary condition in order to have a conscious movement in this crisis of society. Our will is not able to stop this and change the direction of class struggle. But with a conscious movement we can accelerate the growth of class struggle out of this inevitable civil war, decrease the disastrous effects of this war, and direct this struggle to the main contradiction in our society with less pain.

Any line or policy which consciously or unconsciously under the banner of prevention of this civil war, and change in the direction of society and, thus prevents the masses from developing their class struggle and finding their true struggle against class and national aggression, is a compromising of a correct policy. This policy not only keeps the masses from a revolutionary struggle, it also allows, despite the will of these policy holders, a better chance to the reaction to carry out this civil war in a more expanded way, and will give a better chance for them to attack the people's revolutionary war and masses' class and national struggle in different ways. Calling the masses to back off in front of the reaction under the motivation of prevention of "upheaval" and civil war, will allow the reaction to build and enforce "upheaval" and civil war, will allow them to have hysterical attacks upon the people's revolutionary gains and their genuine struggle. In the same manner, policy and tactics which cause any immature conflict accelerates

the contradiction before the proper time, and does not consider the masses' consciousness at various levels of the movement and forces, and does not consider the degree of development of social contradictions, thus provoking a premature clash. It allows any clash without considering its effects on the development of struggle and consciousness of the masses on the one hand, and presents a conflict between the masses on the other hand in an anarchist and adventurous policy.

The common point of these two lines is that both ignore the contradictory nature of this civil war and each considers only one aspect to apply to its strategy and tactics. The right wing only considers that the masses are confronting each other in this civil war and in a very pacifistic way consciously denies the war. The war is inevitable on the one hand, reflects the revolutionary class struggle of the masses and tries to discourage the masses on the other. This policy does not consider that on one side of this contradiction the reaction is standing and it is the reaction that is leading part of the unconscious masses. The other side is the most conscious and progressive part of masses. Therefore this war is a conflict between the revolution and the conscious masses before being a conflict between the masses. Because of that this civil war has hidden the class struggle inside itself.

But the ultra-left and anarchist line, reasoning the opposite, ignores the other aspect of this civil war, and considers the civil war as a pure class struggle, without considering that this civil war is also a

conflict between the unconscious masses, in particular the traditional petty-bourgeoisie masses and conscious masses. (The reality cannot be unaffected to determine the tactic and path of struggle.) This policy and line expands the minor and false social and political contradictions. It leads the masses to a premature conflict with reaction which is backed by the wide range of unconscious masses, in particular the traditional petty-bourgeoisie. This Policy will accelerate the formation of a fascist atmosphere by the regime against the revolutionary forces and conscious masses. It also gives a better chance to reaction to defeat progressive and militant associations of people which are not yet widely supported.

These two policies and tactics will end in one conclusion from two different ways: the strengthening of the inevitable civil war and brother-killing by the regime, and the growth of class struggle out of this war will be more painful, despite the will of its policy holders.

On these bases, the responsibility of the conscious forces, especially revolutionary communists, regarding the future of our society is as follows:

1. The active participation in the current struggle and attempt to direct it toward reaction and Imperialism. This requires participation in civil war and gradually changing it to a struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, with a consistent trying, development of this civil war on the bases of the false and minor contradictions which has been pushed by the regime in

order to submerge the direction of protest and revolutionary movement of the masses, and, in a result, its defeat must be prevented. This action must initiate neither with staying away from civil war nor with a replacement of the masses by us against the reaction, but with an active participation of conscious elements in this struggle.

The massive struggle in different parts of the country and between the different classes of society is not at the same level. Because of this trying to apply one tactic and policy to all parts of the movement, either by applying the more advanced tactics to the backward elements or by applying the basic tactic to the more advanced elements of the movement, is not correct. In any place which the struggle is going on the tactics and policies must be compatible with the level of struggle in that part.

2. Ideological struggle with the "right" and "left" wing who are both weakening the process of converting the civil war into a national and class struggle without considering the reality of the communist and revolutionary movement of our country. The first, which is the right wing is more dangerous; therefore struggle against that one is more important.

One very important point regarding this matter has to be mentioned: it is the center of this ideological struggle in the situation that society is going toward; the revolutionary crisis and the revolutionary struggle of the masses. This is growing day by day. It is referring to the question of political line and tactics

of struggle and the people's movement. In other words, this ideological struggle expands to the certain level and then will leave the theoretical discussion. The deviant tendencies of forces in a theoretical form, will reflect in their daily practice and political tactics, and will form on the bases of the needs of masses. The ideological struggle on this ground will lead the masses to recognize the correct-political line and tactics with an objective visualization. Only with relying on this ideological struggle is it possible to unite the communists and then the revolutionary movement. Without this struggle and in a situation in which there are tremendous differences within these forces in practice, a unified political line and tactics, is not and will not be possible. Unity should pass through such struggle: despite the existence of objective ground for the unity in present situation, the subjective ground is not provided. We recognize that with the sectarianism of this or that group this will not be achieved. To think otherwise is naive. The main course of the division within the forces at the present time is the deep differences between their current policy in existing class struggle. Without any attempt to uncover these deep differences by exposing and condemning the deviant policies and proving the genuineness of correct line, asking for unity is idealistic and utopian. We will now end our discussion of this matter and will analyze it more in other places.

3. We know, because of the uneven growth of the mass movement in different parts of the country, this movement has not achieved the nation-wide response and has centered in a few main associations. There is a lack of ability to get support from other potential parts. These few associations of revolutionary struggle are mainly in the national-sovereignty parts, especially in Kurdistan, and also in the revolutionary students' movements. This objective situation of class struggle is one of the objective factors of the acceleration of civil war and allowance of the acceleration of this division and separation by the ruling class. In order to neutralize this tactic and counteract this weakness of the revolutionary movement, we must try to form militant and resistance associations in other parts, considering their level of consciousness and struggle. This prevents the aggression from the regime centering in one or a few associations. In other words, stable and new camps have to be formed in order to facilitate the active associations in class struggle as the process from civil war to a national and class war becomes more rapid. Obviously, formation of the new resistance associations does not mean to hasten a premature clash between reaction and the masses. It means the opening of a front of struggle in any level and degree that the mass movement is operating, even if this struggle is at a basic level of trade union struggle.

Regarding this matter, the class struggle of the working class, especially the Persians who are the greatest part of the working class, is very important.

The reliance of reaction is on the Persians, and the working class is not exempt. But meanwhile, because of the present political and social condition, meaning the expansion of economic-social crisis in society this class is the first class to show the potential to disassociate from the reaction and to form a revolutionary political movement. The working class movement is like a fire hidden under the ashes, dissatisfied, weakened and broken. The utopian ideas within this class are greeted at any time with revolutionary explosion. Pulling the level of the working class movement from trade unionism to a political movement with education and propaganda and an active organization within it under the banner of proletarian democratism is the main key for the isolation of reaction and strengthening of the militant associations in the areas which are nationally oppressed. This factor and practice in the area is one of the main tasks of the conscious forces at present time.

4. Educational work and exposing the reaction within the masses, with an explanation of the inevitability of civil war, a war which reaction wants for its own survival, is an important task of forces at the present. Anarchism, resulting from this war can lead the masses toward pacifism and other dangerous political alternatives. Also they may become careless about their class struggle. In order to stand against these dangerous tendencies, the characteristics of the present time have to be taught to the masses and

the direction of society has to be explained to them. The divisive and conspiratorial policies of the ruling class also have to be exposed. It has to be explained that the only way to resist reaction is to expand the class struggle and isolate the reaction. And the dangers resulting from this situation which makes those forces who are directly dependent in imperialism to take advantage of the tendencies of the masses, have to be explained. Also the nature of such forces has to be exposed.

5. The political and organizational alertness in dealing with this situation is another important task of revolutionary forces and revolutionary communists. Reaction is trying to accelerate the civil war and create a frightening and terrorist atmosphere against revolutionary forces, in particular revolutionary communists. It also tries to isolate them in order to be able to terrorize and demolish them. In situations like this, the masses have to be aware of this conspiracy against revolutionary forces on the one hand and these forces have to be protected from the reactionary and terrorist attacks of the reaction with proper organizing policies. On the other hand, these policies have to be able to work within the masses openly, which is very possible because of the instability of reaction and the rising mass movement, and confronting the terrorist and destructive policies of the ruling class with a proper organization. At this time, the situation for open activities is getting tighter for revolutionary

organizations, in particular for revolutionary communists. The role of the mass open organizations and organizing the masses within these trade union, political and democratic organizations is very important. Forming and strengthening these mass organizations will provide the best relationship between them and masses; and in this way, they can stand against oppression, terror, and the possibility of being separated from the masses. Also the ground can be laid to unite with the masses.

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